Mr. A. B. Salem's Cochin Old Age and Widows' Relief Bill.

President.—I call upon Mr. Salem to introduce his Old Age and Widows' Relief Bill.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, under Standing Order 31 (2), I beg to move that the Bill be read in Council.

President.—Who seconds?

മിസ്റ്റർ കപ്ലിങ്ങാട്ട് ശങ്കരൻ നമ്പൂതിരി.—ഞാൻ അതിനെ പിൻതാങ്ങുന്നു.

President.—The motion having been seconded, we shall proceed to consider the Bill—the principle of the Bill and its general provisions.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, in opening the discussion of this Bill, I beg to bring to your kind notice, Sir, that I have come into this House, pledged to measures like this. In the manifesto that I issued before my election to this Council, I have stated to the public: "എന്നെ നിങ്ങൾ പ്രതിനിധിയായി നിയമസഭയിലേക്ക് അയക്കുന്നതായാൽ നിങ്ങളുടെ പൊതുഗുണത്തിനും, രാജ്യത്തുള്ള വർഗ്ഗസ്പർദ്ധാചരിത്രത്തിനും, പ്രത്യേകിച്ച് സാധുസംരക്ഷണത്തിനും ഉതകുന്നതായ ചട്ടങ്ങൾ ഈ രാജ്യത്ത് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതിന് ഞാൻ സർവ്വാത്മനാ പരിശ്രമിക്കുന്നതാകുന്നു."

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Was this manifesto issued to the Jewish Constituency or to the General Constituency?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—It is no matter to whom I have given the pledge. I am here to do the country's work and not that of a particular community.

Coming, as I do, with that pledge into the House, I thought it incumbent on me to draft this Bill at the earliest opportunity, and I availed myself of it, and I submitted my Bill to the Government, as early as the 15th of May 1925, and I thank the Government for rising to the occasion and giving me their sanction, as was needed under Section 12 (a) of the Regulation, because this measure will impose a charge on the revenues of the State. I take it, Sir, that the Government of Cochin, in the land in which Honour is the Family motto, have risen to the occasion to grapple with the problem of poverty, and have taken the opportunity to discuss this measure with all the weight and responsibility that they have on their shoulders, for the welfare of the population entrusted to their care. Much has been said, Sir,

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that the Government has not distributed the loaves and fishes of office equally between all classes, but here is an opportunity offered to them to take care of the poor in the land, without distinction of caste, creed, colour, race or anything.

Now, Sir, I shall begin the next part of my discussion by telling this House through you that the greatest thing in the world is to give bread to the hungry, to bring the poor to your house, to see that the naked are covered, and you do not hide yourself from your own flesh. This, Sir, I take it, should be the principle of all governments for all time to come. The government of a land exists for the welfare of the people. It does not exist merely to cater to the necessity, to the ambition, to the pride, and to the avarice of the rich in the land. They can take care of themselves. But they exist for the welfare of the poor—the one that is not able to look after himself. It is for the welfare of the needy and the desolate, it is for them that the power and the righteousness of the Government should be wielded to help them. Sir, I do not think that I have done a mistake in giving this opportunity to the Cochin State, for the first time now in India—this is the first piece of social legislation that has been introduced in any Council in India. From that it does not follow, Sir, that we are not competent to grapple with the situation. We are here to look after a little State, a State containing 10 lakhs of population, and a State having an inhabitable area of 800 and odd square miles. It is here that we can do experiments like this, to see how much of misery we can undo, how much of misery we can relieve, how much of help we can give to the poor. Let us all, therefore, put our shoulders together to the wheel of grinding poverty—poverty that grinds down the people, poverty that keeps our ambitions underground, poverty that does not give us a rise on the surface of the earth. It is to grapple with this situation that I have brought this Bill, and I hope that every member sitting here will feel his responsibility in contributing to this discussion. This is not a mere discussion for throwing out a few rupees here or a few rupees there for the purpose of relief. If you look into the matter, you will see that the welfare of the great mass of the population is at stake. After all, the poor we shall always have in the land—they shall never cease out of the land. And the injunctions given by the ancients are: "Thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to the poor and to the needy in the land!" The spoil of the poor are in your house. Sir, I ask the Finance Minister here to answer me, if it is not from the taxation of the poor that the Treasury is filled, if it is not from the grinding-poverty-stricken people that the

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great amount of revenue is gathered, or is it only from the landlord and the rich that the revenue gathered? I ask the landlord, I ask the rich man, "Is it not from the poor, is it not from the work of the poor that you enrich yourself? Is it not the poor that work upon the land? And how much of the yield of the land do you give unto him to-day? You give him hardly anything to keep his body and life together; you don't even clothe him sufficiently to-day. The man is working in the field for you, raising the crop for you, gathering the harvest for you, and it is only a small—the smallest—portion of the yield of the land that is given him, while you take away into your granaries the bigger portion of the yield of the land." After all, all of us must live upon the yield of the land. Sir, now, I have come to awaken the duty that we have to wards the poor.

Let us see what all systems prevailed in the olden days, in our Cochin and in India for the benefit of the poor. You know, Sir, that here, about 30 years ago, there existed *Oottupuras* all over the country; there existed temple feeding all over the country; there existed big *Bojanasalas*; there existed, like the public kitchens in the West, many kitchens in many parts of the land. There existed offerings; there existed ceremonial occasions; there existed *Sarvanies*, *Adiyantirams*, etc., in all of which the poor always had a hearty meal. But, to-day, Sir, where are the *Oottupuras*? They are all abolished.

President.—Some exist till.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am glad to hear of it. But now there is practically nothing, Sir—no, not for the poor. These things always relieved the hungry. The hungry people had always some ceremony, here, some ceremony there, where they could get a meal. But with our modern education and the individualistic tendencies that have been generated in our minds, disruptive tendencies sprang up, and they have broken up our ancient tarwads. Disruptive tendencies have penetrated into the midst of our joint family system, the system in which people lived together—one feeding the other, one bound to help the other: All these are going one by one quietly, and we are having on the scene this law or that law that is being promulgated from time to time to wreck ancient ideas. We had the disaster of the Nayar tarwads completed with the Nayar Regulation. Their individualistic tendencies have affected the Regulation with the result that a number of suits are being filed in the Courts for partition and so on. There, in the olden days, you had your brother, your better

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brother or cousin, bound to maintain you, if you are not earning. Everybody had a family circle, whatever else they had not, and they had a right in their tarwads. But to-day that is not the case. Therefore, in the future, problems of poverty will only be more numerous. And you have to tackle it. Who is in the country to tackle it? I emphatically say it is the *Government*. The Government is the *Father* and the *Mother* of the whole population. They can have no caste; they can have no creed; they can have no colour; every one is equal before them. At least we hope it is so. That is their duty. They are the only parents to look after the weaker and the stronger part of the population. And the weaker they have to look after well. How can they look after them well? In the weak portion of the population there are three classes. And it is to deal with the misery of these three classes that I have brought forward this Bill. Let us see who these classes are. The aged, the infirm, and the next is the widows who are burdened with little children, and who have lost their husbands. If your hearts will not go to these classes, I ask:—To whom shall it flow? Sir, are we to keep hungry the children of the widow and the widow out in the street, and the destitute poor old women and men to starve and die in the street? If our hearts do not go to these people, to whom shall they flow? I ask, in all earnestness:— Is there any man who can say we shall shut our eyes and close our hearts, when we see a poor beggar knocking at the door for alms? The same has been evidenced practically everywhere in the State—to see people flocking in the road to be driven away by the duffadar or the peon of the mighty man, saying 'go out', 'don't bother', 'too much of trouble', etc. It is to deal with the beggars' problem that this Bill has been introduced into this Council. If this Council, Sir, will rise to the occasion and grapple with the problem, then you will not see a single man in the street, knocking from door to door, requesting for alms, a niggardly sight to remind us of our duty in the land. So it is, Sir, the beggar problem will no more be heard in the land.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—A point of order for information. Will the able-bodied beggars be included in the category of persons who are to benefit under the Bill?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I shall note your point and come to it.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Thank you, Sir.

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President.—He said that the Bill would take in only the aged, the infirm and the widows.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—He said the *beggar problem*.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I shall come to it in due course. Able-bodied men must be compelled to work, and I have no sympathy with them at all.

The three classes, as I have said, are:— (1) people, who are above 60 years of age, who have no other income of any kind, who have worked for the country, or for their masters, or for the land for sixty years of their life time, who have, therefore, ceased to have their manhood with them to do any further work, who are unemployed, who have no other means of sustenance, have no others to support them, and who have no son, who is getting an income to give them meals—in such cases, to such men alone this pension will become applicable. If he has got a relative able enough to support him, a son, a daughter, a brother, who has got some income with which he can also have a meal, then this pension does not go to him. That is the object with which this Bill has been introduced. I shall come to it clause by clause and explain to the House how the preconceived notions that have been urged against it can be removed.

Sir, in the olden days besides these *oottupuras*, temples and *bojanasalas*, there were charitable people always in the land seeking means to give abundantly in charity, and the whole poor of the country were thus fed. But, Sir, there has been a people and a nation existing in the world whose vitality has been great, who has come down from ancient times to these modern days, to these competitive days. From the days of co-operation we came to the days of competition, and now, again, the pendulum is being swung back to the days of co-operation. We hear that no longer competition shall rule. We have done with the period of competition, and we are going into a new era of co-operation and human brotherhood. No longer geographical boundaries, or colour, or creed shall separate man from man. The breaking down of the barriers, as it is put, is going on rapidly. Geographical boundaries have been done away with. Man can fly from one end of the earth to the other in 10 days. The world is springing to a time when man is going to see his brother man. It is on the threshold of this new era of brotherhood of humanity that I have brought forward, in our progressive little Cochin State, this Bill, in our forward and onward march of the times. Sir, I shall here refer you to a small cutting from a paper in

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Delhi which has commented upon this Bill. The heading itself is "Progressive Cochin".

President.—What is the paper ?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—"*Princely India*".

"This Bill has earned Cochin the name of "Progressive Cochin". In point of its progressive institutions Cochin stands already ahead. The critics of Indian States will do well, if they turn to some of the advanced States' reforms to see how far Cochin has advanced in matters of administration, education and social reform. A draft Bill providing pension for destitute, old persons and widows will soon be introduced in the Cochin Legislative Council. Its benefit will be confined to persons born or domiciled or resident in the Cochin State. The pension contemplated is Rs. 5 with an addition of two or three rupees, when widows are burdened with children, the exact amount depending upon the age of the child. The introduction of such a Bill will be the first of its kind in India, and its progress will, therefore, be watched with the keenest interest all over the country."

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—What is the name of the author of the article ?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—It appeared as an editorial piece. I do not know who the author is. Surely, it is not myself. (*Laughter.*)

President.—Is it the Leader ?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Yes, Sir. I have got only a cutting of the paper.

President.—Nobody suspected that you have done this. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Now, Sir, this Bill as I have said, is being watched by all India. I had friends coming from Bombay and other parts of India complimenting me upon the introduction of this Bill, whether in fun or in folly, I do not care. I am here standing with the full sense of my responsibility to awaken into this Council a sense of responsibility that the Council has towards the poor of the land. You will see, Sir, as I progress, how I have planned to give this relief, how the money could be raised, how, without the expense of a single pie, this pension can be

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administered. We do not want any officer; we do not want any paid, salaried man to distribute this pension in the country.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—How?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—How, my learned friend must have a little more patience. And, Sir, therefore, this is a Bill according to the provisions of which the money that is distributed as pension will go directly, without the expense of a single pie, unto those who have the benefit from it. And, Sir, I shall tell you what the rule was in ancient days. I already referred to a people who have lived through all these changed periods of time down to the modern age, whom no amount of oppression or persecution has been able to wipe out from the face of the earth. And Sir, if you ask, "why", there is the answer in the words of a great man. It was said that, out of an income, a portion shall always be given unto the poor and the needy. How much shall I give unto the poor? One-tenth of your income shall be given unto the poor. There, Sir, the phrase has been vitalised... There is no other part of the world that could draft an injunction like that. Every one of them was maintained in all vitality without any difference whatsoever by a single law, a law that constrained his brother to lend unto him, to give unto him all that is needed for his life. Here, Sir, I stand proud and privileged to belong to that nation, to give unto this little part of India the same privilege of having a Poor Law enacted, suitable to modern times. And, Sir, therefore, I am not at all ashamed for having brought a Bill like this in this House. On the other hand, I am proud to have brought this Bill here, to give all an opportunity to work it out or to accept it, and to look after the poor of your own country. Surely, Sir, my family cannot benefit by this Bill, and very few in my community or my constituency can also benefit out of this Bill. And, therefore, Sir, it is a Bill brought entirely in the interests of the subjects of His Highness, our beloved Maharaja, and I know how much of charity and charitable disposition His Highness has. In his time, if this Bill is established—the first piece of social legislation in the whole of India—it will be a proud day to this Council that this Council in its very first Council have advised the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to accept such a Bill which would add lasting fame and lustre to this Council and the Government of Cochin.

President.—You have already taken more than 20 minutes.

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Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, there is no limit of time for introducing a Bill.

President.—I simply reminded you, not that I want to stop your speech. You may finish your speech.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I shall now come to the objects and reasons of the Bill, as I have put it, before the Government. "In these hard times of unemployment and hardships, it is incumbent upon the State that exists for the welfare of both the strong and weak part of society to provide some measures for the relief of that part of the population who are unable to work for no fault of their own, and who suffer misery. It is the function of both the society and the Government to look after the comforts and needs of the people whom they rule, as much as to maintain law and order for the benefit of all. The State and the rich amidst the population have a duty to discharge towards these unfortunates, who will never cease from the land. A timely measure like this will, in the long run, not only prevent beggary, but will also enable all living within the State to live a happy and contented life, which will ensure peace and contentment all round, even while capitalistic ideas hold sway. Professional street begging is a very unhealthy and degrading sign of the condition of society, and the sight of human beings begging from door to door in quest of food, in rags, cannot be considered anything but a disgrace. With some provision like this, a channel can be made for charity to flow from those so generously minded, and the State can also compel a contribution from the well-to-do towards the support of the unfortunate section that live amidst them in utter destitution and penury. After the materialisation of this Bill into law, as a natural result of it, begging in the street for alms can be legitimately forbidden by statute, and people will be saved from the irritating, persistent trouble, annoyance, worry, time and money that have to be devoted either to help or to drive away the beggars that come to their doors.

I wait for a minute to answer some of the apprehensions that have been told me by Hon'ble Members of this Council that our State will become an attractive resting place for beggars outside our boundary. The benefit of these pensions can only go to those who are born and domiciled in this land—and I mean by 'domicile' life for 7 years in this land—and if a beggar comes to live 7 years to qualify for a pension, by that time he will be dead and gone. According to the statistics gathered, I do not

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think that there would be more than 2,000 qualified persons eligible for these pensions, as regards distribution.

I will elaborate the idea, Sir. I have studied the means of working in social lines elsewhere in Bombay, where charity is distributed, and it can be done without any cost. The idea is this. These pensions can be distributed through the Municipal Presidents and Presidents of Panchayats, and they can also be distributed through some respectable man in every street. There will be surely one respectable man in a street. He will come in contact with the poor of one particular place, and he can also make recommendations to the Municipality and Panchayats, and can ear-mark the deserving for these pensions. He can take the money to their houses, hand it over to them, take their receipts, countersign them and hand them over to the Municipality or to the Treasury or Board, and thus we need not spend one single pie for a distributing agency. The idea of application for these pensions is that application should be made to the Municipality or Panchayat—and their recommend, ation will go to the Diwan Peishkar who will make further enquiries before granting the pension certificate.

Now, Sir, I shall bring to your notice what Mr. Arthur Davies has published in the papers with regard to these problems in Madras, to give some relief to those who are in need. The problem of poverty is bigger than before, for it is not fully realised that in dealing with the problem we are dealing with more vital and important questions (than that of doling out a few annas or rupees). It is a problem of housing, and those of us who were privileged to hear the Hon'ble Member for Trippunittura who spoke at Trichur at a meeting upon this subject have an idea of the gloomy picture of the housing problem. He brought statistics to show that the number of houses that are not one foot above the ground is a pretty large number in Cochin. He also brought statistics to show the number of houses that are not thatched, and of the number of persons sleeping clotheless on the bare floor.

President.—Statistics as to which constituency?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—In the Cochin State. I hope he will contribute that information to this discussion, when the Bill comes into the Select Committee, That is, if it is fortunate to reach such a stage.

Then, you will find, Sir, the utter poverty of our and with which I am trying to grapple with—the problem of housing.

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If there is one old woman entitled to get a pension of Rs. 60 a year, Rs. 20 can be spent upon housing. You will find soon that they are properly accommodated, and in a year or two the old woman may find sufficient money to raise the floor one foot to keep out the cold. We have no idea of how to keep away the attack of cold from their bodies.

Again, it is a question of employment. You know, Sir, that our graduates are not getting employment, and that is clear from the statistics. Out of 2,400 applicants, 2,000 are without employment. Now, if that is the case amongst graduates, coming from more respectable families who have been fortunate enough to get higher education, what would be the case with those less fortunate? So the question of unemployment is staring in our face. Do you think that the rich people of the land can live and sleep quietly in their houses, if that problem becomes acute? Do you not remember the recent floods, how schools were closed to accommodate the suffering poor, and how the rich people went about collecting small amounts in order to feed them? Why did they take all this trouble? There was some amount of fear. What is the agrarian trouble in Malabar and elsewhere? What has been the trouble all over the world? Take any country and realise the idea there. What is the attitude of the middle classes and the poverty-stricken? If this Regulation once comes into being in the State, we would have solved the unemployment problem, the question of hunger and other similar questions. How is a widowed woman with 2, 3, 4 little children barely 2, 3, 4, 5 years of age, able to maintain and educate these, if there is no one to support them? Mr. Matthai says at least Rs. 6 is required for one child to be educated, and I have asked the Government to give Rs. 3 for the woman who has to look after the poor infant subjects of the Maharaja of Cochin, only 2 to 4 rupees a month to be given them in their infancy to maintain them, to give them food, clothing and education. If we cannot contribute from the pockets of the rich and the coffers of the State these small sums, then we are hard-hearted people.

Then, Sir, it is a question of large families getting relief, and especially, babies. Doctors are saying that infant mortality is the highest among the poor, and it is a great loss to our State to loose the benefit of their brains. What is it due to? Want of proper maintenance and proper nourishment. We have got baby-shows conducted once in a year all over the world and the giving of 2 or 3 prizes to the healthy babies,

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Here I do not disparage or despise these shows. These necessarily show that the poverty-stricken children should be looked after. Some thing more must be given to human beings to live in this world.

Again, Sir, take the question of insanity. People go mad due to hunger. I know two instances, personally, of persons going more and more mad by being driven to despair and poverty. It is a question of the whole social welfare of the community. It is a problem far beyond a physical and material one. If you consider carefully, it will soon resolve itself into its component parts, into serious moral, religious and social questions. It is a question of failure. It is a question of misery. It is a question of human needs. It is a question intended to give a ray of hope and security to the great world. It, therefore, requires the most serious thought and the hardest work, and let me add, the deepest love of humanity to tackle this problem properly. It is charity in its original, full and true sense. I request the rich families outside this House to consider about the question of their miserable state, and render some help in the great work of charity, and feel proud that they have this spirit, and I hope Sir, that you who are the custodian of the power of the State on whom to-day rest the responsibility for the welfare of the people will awaken such a spirit in the land. If you do not support this Bill, I can tell you what will happen. I will have to take this Bill, in my political meetings, into the rural parts of the country. That would have been a dangerous step for me to take at first. The only thing that I had to do was to tell the people that you have got a Bill by which a child will get Rs. 3 and a widow so much and an old man so much. Then, the people would have flocked to the doors of this Council Chamber. Sir, what would have been the situation then? I did not want to create such a position. I brought it to this House, so that a Select Committee selected by this Council will sit to think and to act and to do what these poor people require in their constituencies, particularly, as we are their custodians and guardians in this House assembled. And I say that the Government also is a very educated body, a body that sees, from the high pedestal of life, the high aspirations and the requirements of the country. We are bound to deliberate upon this Bill and to come to a conclusion. But, Sir, if this Bill is thrown out, I say I will bring back the Bill again. Therefore, I ask that this Council should consider the Bill and refer it immediately to the Select Committee. The Select Committee should consider the burden that will be imposed upon the people and the Government, if the Bill is made into Law, and consider the means by which the

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amount necessary can be raised, take opinions from leaders outside this Council and with the ripe knowledge of a Select Committee consider the Bill in all its aspects to pass it into law or otherwise. I, therefore, say, Sir, that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. Non-officials should be the majority with one or two Government Members like the Diwan Peishkar and the Director of Public Instruction who are competent to give advice. Such a Select Committee should consider deeply the burden connected with the Bill, and the House should reject or accept the Bill according to their advice.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunui Raja.—What will be the financial commitments of the State, if this Bill comes into law? Has the member any idea of it?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Well, Sir, I am answering this question. Finance is a bugbear to this Council now. For instance, take a simple instance. We wanted higher education to be given. The Government, without consulting the Council, went in for higher education and committed itself to a large expenditure. The right thing to do is to face the problem in the right direction. Here is a Bill asking us to part with a very small part of our money to the needy, the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and the old and the destitute persons who are written off from society. We have to rise to the occasion, find out means, find out methods and do the right thing. I have suggested one means. I said that we have been raising Rs. 70 lakhs on the average, now, from the people of the land, i.e., Rs. 7 from each head. Let us earmark a portion of it. With reference to the fund required, a portion should be provided from the coffers of the State. We have got surplus funds. The Financial Minister's statement shows that Rs. 40 lakhs are lying as unspent balance. The Diwan Peishkar would certify that the revenue that we are already giving to the State is not sufficient. I have suggested a means of levying an old age and widows' cess by raising one anna on a rupee in the existing land tax.

Now, Sir, I have been told that the burden imposed on the land has reached its maximum, (*Hear, hear*) and no more burden can be imposed on the land. This statement was made during the time of Mr. Banerji, and I am not sure if our Revenue Member here would now support that statement or not, as 20 years have rolled by after that. I ask whether he has not changed his opinion. Land is rising in value, particularly, in towns like Mattancheri. Those who have dealt with land acquisition cases in the courts will tell you that they have risen in value.

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I have only suggested a means of raising a lakh of rupees. Our Land Revenue comes to 16 lakhs only. I do not want to stick to that particular method, and Hon'ble Members may have valuable suggestions as to how to raise that money. The landlords have a duty towards the poor upon their land. Then, we have the professional taxes, company taxes, and they can give some money out of that also. By these various methods, if we put our heads together, we can find funds. We can consider other methods to raise money. Simply because we have not now sufficient data to know how to raise money, let us not throw the problem aside, but let us grapple with that, and let us see how much money will be required, and how we can raise that money. We shall put our heads together and see to that.

Now, Sir, as regards the number of people that would become entitled to the pension, I say they are only a limited few. The amounts we suggest for giving to the poor are not much. I have not got full statistics. I think full statistics have not reached Government to be placed before the House. In the Chittur-Tattamangalam Municipality the number above 60 is only 38. Now, Sir, the average age is only 24 or 25 in India, and in Cochin I find it was about 30. People above 60 cannot be many. Men who grow above 60 are only found in well-fed and well-looked after families. I have searched in vain to see many people over 60. Here is statistics proving that. In Chittur, above 60, there are only 38. In Ernakulam, above 60 188, in Trichur; above 60, 550. I think that it is due to the great care of the late President of the Trichur Municipality in the sanitary works of the Town and the good drinking water they get. In Mattancheri the number over 60 is 379. Now, that works upon a population of 30,000. We can see how much it works upon the whole population. It is only 1 or 2 per cent above 60. Then Sir, the number of widows, burdened with children in Tattamangalam is only 38, in Ernakulam 228 and in Trichur 233 and in Mattancheri 148. I can speak only upon the facts and figures from the Town. Panchayat figures are not to hand. All these questions we can discuss in the Committee. It is not my Bill. It is your Bill. If it is necessary for the country, we shall pass it. If it is not necessary, we will discuss and satisfy ourselves that at least we attempted to do what we could do in this matter, and it is in this spirit that I ask the Council to allow me to introduce this Bill.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Sir I wish, with yur leave, to convey to the Chief Medical Officer, my sincere condolence for the grave calamity that had befallen him lately. The House will

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remember that it was my unpleasant duty to attack him on various topics towards the close of the last session, and if I express to him my sympathy to-day, it is with a belief that he will accept it with the same friendly spirit with which it is offered.

Sir, it is not my intention to deal with all the points raised by the mover. I shall confine myself closely to one aspect of the question, viz., financial. The mover said that he pledged his word to his constituency to bring in a Bill of this nature and to try to get it passed by this House. This should not influence us in one way or other. No one should hold out hopes to the voter, on the eve of an election, to the carrying out of reforms which are, for the time being, outside the region of practical politics. He made another observation that this is the only Council that has brought forward a Bill of this kind, and he claimed credit for having done something grand. The mere fact that no other Legislature in India has introduced a Bill, dealing with a social problem of this magnitude and of this character, only goes to show that these bodies know their responsibilities and their limitations, and are also conscious of the great difficulties that confront them in introducing a social reform of this kind.

The House ought to realize that old age pensions are obtainable only in a few countries. There is old age pension in England, in Germany, and in new countries such as Australia. Yow will notice that these countries have well-organised social structures. They are rich and powerful with great capacity for organisation. They are advanced in political science, energetic, public-spirited, and patriotic. All these qualities are essential for the successful introduction of a measure of this kind. All these qualities are conspicuous by their absence in our State.

Is it possible for us to find any money to meet the provisions of this Bill? It may be possible in such countries which I have already described above. I doubt very much, underthe existing state of things in the State, whether it would be possible for us to go in for a piece of legislation of such magnitude and of this nature. It should be clearly understood that I am not opposing the principles of this Bill. In fact, I entirely appreciate this Bill, and the motives which induced the mover to bring it in. But I regret I cannot support this Bill. This is not a place for indulging in the display of sentiments. We have to consider ways and means to raise funds for the purpose of meeting the expenditure consequent upon the passing of this

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Bill. The House will note that the mover said that there was no need to incur any expenditure in distributing the funds to the beneficiaries. But the question is how to find funds for the purpose. The mover was unable to give a satisfactory answer to it. When pressed hard, he got out of the difficulty by suggesting an additional tax on land. I have been making inquiries in some of the rural areas. I find that the people have a complaint even against the tax now levied by the Government on land. All those who know the working of the land system here will agree that the land cannot bear any further burden, at any rate, for the time being. For want of canals and other facilities for proper cultivation, the agriculturists are undergoing great hardships, and the Government find themselves unable to increase the land tax even to meet this contingency. Even granting that additional burden, on the scale suggested by the mover, could be imposed upon land, it will produce only 80 thousand rupees, whereas, on a moderate calculation, the expenditure required to meet the demands of this Bill will be somewhere near 20 lakhs. And where is this fund to come from? 70 lakhs of rupees is the income of the State. And you can notice, Sir, in this agenda, a number of resolutions brought forward which necessitate a further reduction of this income. There is another point. Resolutions are brought forward for the consideration of the House to undertake social work involving heavy expenditure. Sir, you cannot face these problems successfully without resorting to additional taxation. Unless the Government can convince us that a higher taxation is absolutely essential, we will not agree to it as the people are not in a position to bear any additional taxation. Unequal distribution of wealth is not confined to this small State. It is a question that has become a world problem. You will also notice that these differences of wealth and position are less marked in an agricultural country than in an industrial one. Well, the Government, on the whole, have done what they can with the funds at their disposal. I would willingly support this resolution, if the mover can find a way to meet the additional expenditure. I ask, Sir, when the Education Department on the one side and the P. W. D. on the other, which consume a large portion of the revenue, are still knocking at the door of the Finance Member for more money for useful purposes, how can I support this Bill? Unless we find ways and means for additional funds, which is impossible under existing circumstances, I think it is my bounden duty to oppose this motion. It should not be misunderstood that I am not in sympathy with the poor. I will be the last man to act against their interests. But I

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regret, I was forced to act in this manner by the present conditions. The difficulty is financial. If the Financial Member can suggest means to raise money for the purpose, I will be the first man to support the mover and join hands with him to do all in my power for the cause.

President.—You cannot expect any support from the Finance Member.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I said that I will support, if he shows us the ways of raising money. Of course, he may direct us how to raise money with the approval of the majority of this House. I will certainly oppose this Bill. unless I am satisfied with the real necessity for additional taxation.

Srimati T. Madhavi Amma.—Sir, though I will be the first person to advocate the cause of that part of the population—widows, in particular, referred to in the Bill—I am afraid I find no necessity for such a Regulation in our State at present. By having a Bill of this kind, the present problem will not be solved, nor will it help the Government, the society, or the persons concerned in general. On the other hand, it will court all sorts of troubles and miseries in a peaceful and prospering State like this.

Secondly, it puts the Government to the necessity of compelling the law-abiding citizens to raise a beggar tax also, at a time when unemployment and hard times exist.

Again, a distinction seems to have been made here in connection with the pensions given to men and women. Of course, Sir, I know the ordinary wages are settled in favour of men, because they are the persons entitled to do heavier work; but in old age, when they are termed to be equals, and when they can do no work at all, why this distinction should be shown even then is what I do not understand.

Besides, the duty of all Governments is to keep the people from want and penury, and to help the system the Government servants are employed. Such being the case, there is no reason why we should show any leniency towards them, when doing their duty, nor can it be deemed as an unnecessary burden by a responsible officer.

And I believe I am not wrong in presuming this State to be not only a land of charity—no not even in name. *Dharmarajyam* as it is called after our Sister State—but also a land of honour and justice as well.

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Thus even in the objects I do not find it possible for me to agree with this Bill. Entering further, what do we see? The same strain of things. To begin with, Sir, it is entitled only to a certain class of people who possess certain qualifications. However, I thank my Hon'ble friend most cordially in the name of my Christian sisters and those who can enjoy the benefits out of this Bill, if passed into a Regulation, for drafting a Bill like this, especially for adding, in section 3, clause 2, the words "jointly with others". But I who have to stand here for the interests of all the communities alike am at a loss to know what I should say, when considering the case of my poor Nayar sisters and others who still enjoy a joint family system, and who may not expect to have even five rupees for their share or allowance when sued for partition.

Then comes the word "domicile". A domicile can be a domiciled subject from the very day of his settling down here, unlike in other countries where they are deemed as domiciles only after a certain period of time has elapsed. Even then they will have to get themselves naturalised. As there are no such rules or restrictions here, those who wish to claim this pension for naught can come and flock here from any part of the world, leaving aside the question of the neighbouring countries of the State. Therefore, no domicile should be allowed to draw this pension.

President.—Are there any rules or regulations with regard to restricting the domicile of a person?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Seven years after his settling down, a person may be considered as a domiciled subject of the State.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—There is no statutory law in Cochin, as far as I am aware, with regard to this.

Srimati T. Madhavi Amma.—Another thing is that those who are destitutes or unused to work can also claim this dole. Necessity is the mother of invention. So they are sure to find out some method, if they are devoid of other means to live on. Those who can work, whether used to it or not, should be made to work, or else the rest of the class may turn out to be idlers.

Further, if there is no serious objection, I request the Government to undertake legislation to prohibit beggary and

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vagrancy in the State. I hope this will be the unanimous opinion of this House also, for beggars are making the life of all intolerable, and are extolling inactivity and idleness. According to the *Census Report*, there are more than thirty lakhs of beggars in India all through, and I am not certain what number is subscribed from our State to add to the figure given above. Every religion is against beggary. But people think that they are doing a meritorious work by paying beggars for nothing, without knowing that they are actually encouraging the profession of beggary and vagrancy.

So, what is needed here is but a "Poor Peoples' Industrial Home" for the benefit of such persons who can work, where all minor industries, along with some primary practical lessons in agriculture may be taught and made to work those "unemployed, destitute, burdened widows and unused to work" class of people. But, as such an institution has already been in consideration—may I add, in progress—I have hardly anything more to say on the point than to make these two observations:— (1) to convert a small portion of this Home into an Orphanage exclusively for the use of the children of the burdened widows, and (2) to extend the benefits to other places also by opening similar "Homes" in one or two more centres of the State, and I suggest these Poor Houses may be established in charge of some non-official members also, where *charka* spinning would be worked systematically.

In the meantime, if the Government deems proper, all beggars who are fit to work and found in public places may be caught and sent by the Police to the one Work-House that will be in existence in the near future and to the various Government Agricultural Farms and other working centres to work, and they should be paid either a small sum as wages, or rice and clothing for their bear subsistence.

And in conclusion, I may say that, though there is a Regulation somewhat to this effect in England, that fact alone will not stand for a good reason why we should have a similar one here. There is much difference between England and Cochin. The conditions differ; people's modes and manners differ; their wants differ. So to copy one thing from one place to the other is not the proper thing for us to do here. We must abide by the circumstances and the needs of the times and place.

So, I am sorry, when I say that I was not able to see a single clause in this Bill even for an amendment. Hence, with all force, I protest that this Bill may not be presented to the Select Committee and brought over here again for discussion,

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either at present or at a future date, which can do no good to anybody nor can serve any purpose whatever.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—Sir, it is an irony of fate that the Member for the Jewish Constituency should introduce a Bill of this kind, and I have to present to this House the other side of the picture for its view and careful consideration. For, the Jewish religion enjoins on every Jew to pray that he may not be a recipient of charity and on all Jewish parents the duty of seeing their children learn a trade, so that he may not become a burden to society and a disgrace to himself. And, if there is one community whose charity leans to the side of indiscrimination, it is mine. Personally too, I would have preferred not to lead a crusade in what might at first appear so unpopular a case. But the issues at stake are so vast and so far-reaching that I thought that, neither considerations of a personal nature nor any hysterical sensibility, should stand in the way of the discharge of a duty that I owe to my country.

Let me, therefore, invite your attention, Sir, to a few aspects of this Bill. It is available to those born or domiciled in Cochin. The word "domicile" is not defined in the Bill. The great jurist, Mr. Dicey, says in his *Conflict of Laws* that no definition of the word has satisfied English Judges, and even that concise and precise writer has to devote about hundred pages of that classic work to a discussion of this subject of domicile. So, you can get an idea of the complexity of this problem and the difficulty the administrator of the relief fund will have over it. One will be inclined to decide this question of domicile in favour of widows and of old men who appeal for help. Thus, on the passing of this Bill, you can expect an influx of persons from British Malabar and Travancore, where there is no law like this, into this country where they can get the benefit of this measure. There may thus be no limit to the number of applicants for support.

On a modest calculation, the amount that will be required to provide funds for making payments under this Regulation and to run the necessary machinery for its distribution will be large. Where is this amount to come from? The Government will be perfectly justified in certifying, as is required by the Regulation, year after year, that the ordinary revenues of the State will not be available to meet this expenditure. The Harbour, the industrial and the economic development of the country—to mention only two among others—are making their pressing, their just and persistent demands on the Government, and when, even in normal years, the Government could only with difficulty avoid deficit budgets, no one could with propriety

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ask it in addition to the Poor House recently started, to finance this novel scheme as well. Thus we have to fall back upon the cess proposed in the Bill under discussion. The Government is to impose a cess of an anna; for, here, there can arise no question of a lesser rate; as even the sum collected at the rate of one anna in the rupee on land tax and other taxes collected within Municipal are as is not likely to be sufficient. The townsmen are already burdened with numberless taxes—he is the victim of any number of lists for subscriptions for objects good, bad and indifferent. And after all, will this cess relieve him from further worries of these and others on every day of the week? They will come—the beggars—and their number is legion—able-bodied, the militant and the garullous to pester you and to take the very life out of you. Why? There is nothing to prevent the very same men, women and children, benefited by this Bill, from joining the chorus for alms. No safeguards are suggested to prevent a double distribution of relief to the same individuals.

There is another provision in the Bill to which a pointed reference has to be made. In the case of women, the Bill says that they must be destitute widows; then alone they will come within the purview of this Bill. The common-sense view is, I believe, that relief is to be given to help the poor to tide over bad days, in fact, not to become destitute. But this law forces even decent folk to face disaster without any assistance from the very quarter where they could best expect it. As a writer puts it in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, "Nothing can be more senseless or more wasteful than to manufacture paupers, seeing that, when they are manufactured, you must support them". And on a glance at section 3 of this draft Bill, you will find in it, Sir, a regular up-to-date factory for the manufacture of paupers, while the provision of widowhood, I regret to find, will be a standing invitation to a life of prostitution.

Next, let me request this House, Sir, to carefully ponder over some of the criticisms levelled by competent men against the system of poor relief as obtained in Great Britain, and try whether this country cannot gather wisdom from its experience. We have lessons to learn from that quarter. There, various systems have been tried, and are being tried even now to help the poor. "England is the richest country in the world, yet, by the perverted ingenuity of its legislation, it seems to be condemned to remain the most pauperised" says one. The name of Turgot will not be unfamiliar to this Council. No less a person than the late Lord Morley,

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while speaking of his work on *Foundations*, has said, that it was a carefully written and sagacious work, and it contained the most masterly discussion on the subject. Well, Turgot argues that endowments made for the relief of the poor engenders pauperism. Doctor Chalmers has spoken vehemently against these poor relief institutions, because of the injury these did to the moral and economic nature of the society. "Such a public charity" says the great divine "by lessening the industry and forethought that would have been otherwise put forth in the cause adds to the wants and detracts from the real work and virtue of the species." "I take it to be a principle" states Lord Brougham "which will admit of no contradiction that the existence of any permanent fund for the support of the poor, the appropriation of any revenue, however raised, which must peremptorily be expended in maintaining such as have no other means of subsistence, has, upon the whole, a direct tendency to increase their numbers. It produces the effect in two ways: by discouraging industry, foresight and economy, the great preventives of pauperism and by encouraging improvident marriages, the great source of paupers." One more and that of the great utilitarian philosopher, Mr. J. S. Mill. "The indiscriminate distribution of money among the poor of a particular place or class is to pauperise and demoralise a whole neighbourhood." To get over this demoralising effect, the work-house test was introduced. Even then Mill was not satisfied. "To give profusely to the people, whether under the name of charity or of employment, without placing them under such influences that prudential motives shall act powerfully upon them, is to lavish the means of benefiting mankind, without attaining the object."

Thus, Sir, it is seen from the testimony of these great men of wisdom and experience that the granting of relief in the manner contemplated constituted "no adequate check upon the improvidence, the indolence and the self-indulgence from which", to quote Fawcett, "almost the entire pauperism of a country directly or indirectly arises", and, when once this Bill is passed into law, "neither the firmness of the administration nor the moderation of the poor" can prevent the pernicious consequences which Lord Brougham has deplored.

By all means, let misery and want be relieved. But such relief should not be doled out to the prejudice of the spread of those habits of personal responsibility which could be learnt only in the House of discipline and experience. There is nothing inherent in the capacity of the poor, nor is there any insuperable

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obstacle in their making themselves "competent to play an independent and improving part in the economy of the society in which they live."

Into the administration of the Poor Law Funds, I shall not enter. That is a large subject and not a pleasant one too. Suffice it to say that Brougham's letters on the maladministration of these eleemosynary philanthropy went into twelve editions in the course of six months.

And, after all, do we want a Regulation of this nature to make us charitable, to make us possess that supreme flower of life? I emphatically say "No." "Private charity", to quote Lord Curzon, "is the immemorial, traditional heritage of the East.", while Mr. Cotton in his *New India* says that it is an honour to India that no Poor Law disgraces the statute book of the land. And why? From the dawn of intelligent life, Indians, rich and poor—that is the beauty of it—rulers and the ruled have been following to the strict letter the advice of the holy seers to devote at least a tenth of your wealth to charity. No sounding brass or tinkling symbol advertises its distribution. It is, as it should always be, private and spontaneous, always seconded with a word of sympathy. You go anywhere, from snow-clad Badari to tho wave-washed Kumari, you will find my statement borne out by wells and avenue trees, water-sheds and prinjarapoles, tanks and *chatrams*; and in these rest-houses, the weary and the poor are not alone permitted to rest, but prayed to partake of refreshments as well. Have you ever heard of deaths from starvation in this continent of ours, where, in every family, Charity is worshipped as a household Divinity? Here the poor had at no time to seek comfort under the dark arches of the city bridges or in the deep waters below. For every feast and festival, national and domestic, religious and secular, feeding of the poor is an essential item. For every birth, death and, in the case of almost all anniversaries, distribution of food is enjoined on every one. *Annadanam* is considered to be one of the necessary virtues of every house-holder; and the spurning of the houseless stranger from the door is a sin to absolve from which no propitiatory ceremonies are prescribed. One cannot think of any decent family which does not maintain some poor old relations, some helpless dependents. Therefore it is that it is in no light spirit, but realising the full significance of what I say, that I request this House to consider whether it should have anything to do with this measure.

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Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, when I came to this House this morning, I was undecided as to the attitude I should take in regard to this measure. Even after the Member for the Jewish Constituency had, in an impassioned and brilliant address, recommended the Bill to the acceptance of this House, I had not made up my mind. But seeing the turn matters are taking, sufficient to paint many of us as so many selfish beings caring nothing for their suffering brethren, I venture to support this Bill, not unaware that, in recommending it to the acceptance of this House, I am asking the State to shoulder an enormous responsibility. Sir, the speech made by the Secretary to this House opposing this Bill strikes a note from which I must express my strong dissent. Most of the views expressed by him I find in a book called "*State and Charity*" published in 1898 by Mr. Thomas Mackay.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—Oh ! but all quotations are marked and gratefully acknowledged.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—These views were expressed by Mr. Thomas Mackay in 1898. The Insurance Act of Mr. Lloyd George was passed by the British Parliament in 1911, i. e., 13 years after this book was published.

President.—The statements were made by English and French statesmen, and are not Mr. Mackay's own.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Now, whoever be the statesmen or politicians, the views that are placed before this House were published by Mr. Thomas Mackay in Britain in 1898. He makes reference in the book to the views of Dr. Chalmers, who, I believe, was a Scotch. Mr. Lloyd George, the famous Prime Minister, brought in his Insurance Act in 1911. All these views must have been placed before him and before the Parliament by the educated public of England. Yet, what did they do? They passed a most democratic piece of legislation that has ever passed through the anvil of any legislature.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—Not much analogy between that Act and this Bill, I fear.

Mr C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, the reasons that have been stated by the Secretary to this House, are not, therefore, appealing. Are the views that found favour with the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland in 1911 not acceptable here even in 1926? The Member for the Jewish Constituency asks this House to accept and act upon certain principles which have been accepted in England. I admit, Sir, that England is a rich country, and there the people are

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able to contribute more to the administration of the Poor Laws, though the expenses there are greater than ours. We may not be able to contribute as much as Englishmen, but we can contribute our mite, so that we may, to some extent, bring relief to the poor of this country. The whole matter is one of accepting or rejecting a principle. What is stated in the book referred to above, regarding the Poor Laws, has reference mainly to the poverty-stricken men and women and to all those who cannot find work and are starving or begging. None of the accusations based on grounds of idleness apply to the provisions of this Bill. We cannot expect men over 60 to work. Sir, nobody in this House will ask a man over 60 to work for any wage. This Bill is mainly intended to cover men over 60 and widows and orphans. The charge that the administration of the Poor Laws would have very injurious effects on society cannot be levelled against the provisions of this Bill. This Bill concerns only persons who are aged and those who are burdened widows.

I am sorry to see that the Lady Member of this House has opposed this Bill. I cannot accept as sound the arguments advanced by the Hon'ble Lady Member. At least, that part of the Bill that concerned the starving and burdened widows should have appealed to her. There is nothing in the Bill which is political or communal. It is a piece of purely social legislation, and it would apply alike to widows of all communities in the State. Under the *Makkathayam* as well as the *Marumakkathayam* system, there are widows, and if the Bill is properly construed, it is applicable to all widows, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

I now come to the most difficult aspect of the question—finance. The Member for the Jewish Constituency did not place any material before this House respecting the financial burden that we will have to shoulder by adopting this Bill. The Member for Irinjalakkuda said that the Bill will entail an expenditure of 8 lakhs. It would be more than 20 lakhs a year, according to the calculations I have made. I may say my calculations are only approximate, and may even have erred by over-estimating. But that is safer. There are 4,82,959 males and 4,96,121 females in the State. Of these 402 in ten thousand are males over 60. Their number in the State comes to about 20 thousand, and the number of females over 60 at 491 in 10 thousand to about 24 thousand. I take it that, among males over sixty, 150 in a thousand will be thus eligible for the relief, the number of males entitled to relief thus being 3,000. The number of females over 60, entitled to relief, calculating at 300 in a thousand and excluding the 879 widows over 60, will be about

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6,300. The number of widows being 78,374, the number of burdened widows at 400 in a thousand widows will be about 31,300. According to my calculations, we will have to pay Rs. 15,000 a month for the males over 60, Rs. 31,500 to the females over 60, and about a lakh and fifty-six thousand to the burdened widows at Rs. 5 per person. The amount exceeds rupees 24 lakhs and 30 thousand per year. I am sure that it is difficult to meet this enormous demand. But I want the House to accept the principles underlying this Bill. Indeed, it is difficult to work this Bill as it is. My position is that the principles underlying the Bill may be accepted, and we may see whether it is possible to introduce the Bill in a modified form so that the burden may be smaller and within the resources of the State to meet. Let us, therefore, refer this to a Select Committee and introduce it in a modified form which may be acceptable.

The House rose for lunch, it being 2 p. m. When the Council re-assembled at 3, the discussion on the Bill was resumed.

Mr. V. K. Kochunni Menon.—I do not also think that such a piece of legislation as this is practicable in such a small State as Cochin. If the object of the Bill is to drive away poverty from the State, as is stated to be, that object cannot be attained by a measure of this sort. The Bill contemplates relief only to a few aged men and women and some widows below 55, burdened with children, whether legitimate or illegitimate. The Bill thus leaves out of account all males below 60 who are destitute and utterly unfit for work and women below 55 who have no children but destitute and helpless. Unless all those are provided for, poverty cannot be driven out of the State.

There is no use of our accepting the principle of the Bill without satisfying ourselves that the financial burden thrown on the State by that Bill is within the power of the State to bear. This is a matter in which it is not possible to make even a very rough estimate at present. According to the mover, it may begin with a lakh, while, according to his supporters, it may go to 20 or 25 lakhs. As the right to a benefit depends upon domicile, we cannot have any idea as to the number of persons entitled to the claim, unless we can ascertain the domicile of the persons who claims the benefit. The question of domicile does not depend upon birth or residence alone, and domicile may be easily changed by relinquishing one domicile for another. This is a matter which has to be entered into every year, and that requires a proper tribunal. Whatever may be the approximate number entitled to the benefit of the Bill at present, that number is liable to increase every year in the absence of a simila

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provision in the adjoining State. If, therefore, we cannot make even a rough estimate for the present, how much more difficult is it to ascertain it in the immediate future? It seems to me, therefore, unsafe to accept the principle.

I also do not know, if we shall not be encouraging prostitution, if we commence to render help to burdened widows with illegitimate children even, and also to make the amount depend on the number of children they have. I am also opposed to the grant of pension to persons without any regard to their character and antecedents. These are not disregarded even under the English Law, which the mover wants to imitate. England is a place where people are prepared to work, if the same is available, but our people are prone to shirk it as far as possible. When this is so, even when there is no prospect of any provision for old age, a Regulation of the sort would be a premium on idleness and improvidence.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Sir, I am constrained to oppose the motion that this Bill be read in Council. It is almost a truism to say that all measures meant to ameliorate the condition of the deserving poor should receive universal support. This Bill, I am afraid, might, instead of bettering existing conditions, produce the opposite effect. It aims at giving relief to aged people, viz., men of 60 years of age and above and widows of 55 and over. I should think that old age should not be the criterion in such matters. To draw the line at 60 or 55, as the case may be, is wrong in principle. Many people of this age might be hale and strong enough to work and earn an honest living. Our object should be to render help to poor helpless children, and adults of all ages, unable either from disease or bodily infirmity to earn their living.

The Bill would grant relief to "burdened widows" of all ages, and the amount of gratuity would increase in proportion to the number of children they possess. It is a well-known fact that the poorer classes are practically devoid of any sense of birth-control, and the above provision might tempt these "burdened widows" to lead a life of prostitution.

Orphans, as such, would get no relief under this Bill, and I consider this omission to be a serious defect.

The passing of the Bill into law would entail an annual recurring expenditure of fifteen to twenty lakhs of rupees, and our present resources are unable to meet this demand.

Poverty has been on the increase, during the last ten years, and many poor and disabled people have been pining in distress. The people of this country are proverbially charitable.

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To the Hindu charity is part of his religion. Muslims spend large sumes of money in alms. The Holy Bible lays down "there abideth three great things; Faith, Hope and Charity; of these the greatest is Charity." The mover of the Bill, quoted freely from the Bible, in the course of his speech, to impress upon us our duty towards those in distress. The charitable instincts of our people in general have, no doubt, largely contributed to relieve the poor and the distressed, in the past. Have we become less and less charitably disposed; and if so, why?

I am of opinion that the increasing distress of the people is due to the depression in agriculture, trade, industry and commerce. The earning capacity of people in general has decreased. Agriculture has ceased to be of remunerative as of old. Industry and trade are unsatisfactory. Agricultural, industrial and commercial depression have to be tided over. If present conditions are bettered, social and religious reformers would be able to induce wealthy and prosperous people to realise their duty of helping the poor and the distressed. The attempt of the State should be to improve agricultural, industrial and commercial conditions. The grant of indiscriminate gratuities by the State to aged people and burdened widows would hardly solve the problem of poverty and distress; it might, on the other hand, foster a spirit of indolence, and, probably, tend to to increase vice and crime.

The average duration of life in India is less than 25. This is said to be due, chiefly, to infant mortality. Child welfare organizations in England and other Western countries have been able to reduce the death rate among infants, and following their lead, strenuous attempts are being made in India to start Infant Welfare Associations, and educate the illiterate masses about the correct methods of feeding and nursing the baby and looking after the pregnant mother, before, during, and after parturition. We had better our attention in that line, rather than in legislating for the grant of gratuities to aged people.

Mr. A. B. Salem.— I want the matter to be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.— I repeat that this measure is not in the region of practical politics at present. Let us usefully turn our thoughts in the direction of Child Welfare; let us try to reduce the apalling mortality of infants; let us try to give a longer lease of life to the young, instead of to the aged. In the majority of cases,

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old people who are poor have become so by neglecting habits of thrift, and squandering away their earnings without providing for the future. Work on co-operative lines to infuse a spirit of thrift, self-help and prudence would also be useful and within the province of governmental action.

Nowhere else in India has the novel experiment suggested by the Bill been tried. I think we had better wait, and see, if other legislatures would embark on this line, and if they do, we shall try to profit by their experience.

With these observations, I beg to oppose the motion.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—May I know the Government view?

Mr. P. Damodara Menon.—Government oppose the introduction of the Bill.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Sir, even at the risk of being called callous to the welfare of the aged poor and the destitute widow, I oppose the motion. The Bill is framed under a false assumption. Reference has been made in this House to similar laws in England and in the Colonies. In England the laws proceed upon the basic assumption that the citizen who has toiled and worked away his youth and manhood in large factories must be compensated by those factories in his old age. The big manufacturing enterprises and capitalist combines of England draw their great profits from the sweat of the labourer, and it is the capitalist class of people that are mainly benefited by them, and the money to pay the poor comes mainly from the capitalists and the manufacturers. In the Colonies, the case is different. The Colonies are under-populated. They want to keep these old men and widows there just as a means of supplying population to the State. As an arbitrary measure they introduced these laws. Only a very small number of people are being benefited by them. Owing to the desire of the Government to see a Colony well-populated, the laws are still in force there.

President.—Which laws do you mean?

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—The laws under which the poor people are paid in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. In England the case is different. I believe an attempt to give succour to the aged poor began from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The IV Elizabeth is the first piece of legislation regarding that, and even to-day in 1926 we see that the question is not solved. The whole aspect of the question has been changed by the passing of the Insurance

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Bill in 1911, as referred to by my friend. Before that, the question was whether it was not the duty of the State to see that the poor people are succoured. The Lloyd Georgian Bill is the precursor of the nationalisation of the wealth of England. In England, when those old laws were worked, there were considerable difficulties. The first was the want of a Central Board to control the distribution of the pittance. The second was that even the Local Boards which were more experienced in these affairs than the Local Boards of India were not thought fit to administer proper justice in these things. The number of applications were growing year by year, and there was no automatic method by which the application could be regulated or checked. These were some of the standing evils for which the commission of enquiry failed to suggest remedies. All these conditions apply to India.

I submit, Sir, that under the Indian conditions, such a piece of legislation is unnecessary; because the constitution of the Indian family leaves very little chance for the aged father or the widowed sister being left out or being forgotten by the other members of the family. Apart from the moral or religious obligations of the junior members to support them, there is the family tie engendered by custom which is a very strong deterrent in leaving the aged entirely out of account. In England the life of the people, and the nature of the family ties are different. A father generally lives separate from his son and the widowed daughter lives separate from the parents. In India, generally, it is not so. On that argument, I submit that such a piece of legislation in India is not necessary. Sir, convulsion is not energy. Revolution is not reform. Appeal to passion is not argument. I think there can be no two opinions in this House regarding sympathy for the poor. I submit, Sir, that the Bill is ill-conceived, and I may also say ill-framed. On these grounds, I oppose the motion.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—With very great apprehension, I rise to support the mover, Mr. Salem. Now, the present question is whether the Bill should be introduced and read in the Council or not. We are not going to pass this Bill at once. A Select Committee will be entrusted with the work in the natural course of things, and I hope that it will undergo a series of transformations in its passage. There can be no two opinions that the needy poor should be helped, and I suppose that is the prime object of the mover in framing this Bill. Then, whether that is possible by this Bill or whether any amendments are necessary or whether it is practicable, and so on,—all these, we can

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discuss at greater length later on. No piece of legislation or no policy that is suggested by anybody can be perfect. Some defects have been pointed out by several members. We can rectify them. In the course of the discussion, the Hon'ble Members here will be able to fully rectify them. Then, again, I may say that it is not a good policy even at the inception of the Bill to reject it *in toto*. What I beg to submit is that we have not got enough materials. One Hon'ble Member suggested that it would involve eight lakhs of rupees. Another member said 24 lakhs. That itself shows that we are in the dark as to how we have to work it. Unless we get proper materials, unless we are acquainted with the practical difficulties which will come in, we cannot say one way or the other now. I think at this stage the Bill may be permitted to be read. It will be improper to reject it.

Mr. S. F. Nunez.—It was just now pointed out that there is no harm in referring the Bill to a Select Committee, and that the facts and figures which are necessary for the proper understanding of the Bill may be gathered, and the Bill may afterwards be accepted or rejected. If we were to refer it to a Select Committee, it means that the House accepts the Bill. Now, Sir, my contention is that we cannot accept it on its principle. Poverty is indeed a very undesirable thing so far as material considerations are concerned, and it is the bounden duty of each and every one of us to come forward to alleviate this poverty. Now, this alleviation of poverty can be done effectively either by religious bodies or by individuals in whom the flame of religion burns as a living force. Any mechanical contrivance, any amount of mechanical effort on the part of the State to alleviate the miseries of the poor must be futile.

The Hon'ble Member representing Cranganur pointed out the history of the Poor Law in England. Of course, the Poor Law was introduced in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, towards the close of the 16th century, and still we find that the Poor Law could not be satisfactorily worked. Now, that shows the place of religion cannot be taken by the State, however large that State may be founded on religious principles and ideals. Religion has got its place, and politics has got its own place, and there are meeting grounds for religion and politics. There are also places where you cannot reach, and this case of alleviating the miseries of poverty is a case where politics for a State in a concrete form cannot take the place of religion. Now, Sir, if we go into the psychology of the Indian nation, we

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can find that there has not even been an attempt in the past when poverty was not faced by individual charities and private organisations. We find mendicants were honoured, and the mendicants considered it their privilege to go from house to house begging for alms, and the inmates of each house considered it their sacred duty also to throw in their quota of rice, curry and other things with which the pangs of hunger are satisfied. What we find is that poverty cannot be minimised or eradicated by the State taking the initiative." Poverty is a thing which will last till the very end of time ", so says the founder of Christianity. I have common-sense enough to support that view. All I can do is to minimise the poverty. It has been done so in the past in our midst by private agencies. I think that the House will be justified in opposing this Bill on principle—the principle on which the Bill is drawn. The Bill lays down that State aid should be given. State aid cannot do anything effectively in this direction, and there is no use of quoting to do to the contrary.

Reference has been made to Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Bill of 1911. It was more a trick rather than a Bill which was intended to alleviate the miseries of the people. We know enough of Mr. Lloyd George, and we had enough of Mr. Lloyd George's promises. In the years between the war and after the war he made several promises for catching votes in the Parliamentary election. He said he would make England a paradise for the soldiers of the battle field, and he made many more promises. Then, within a couple of years, all his promises became delusions, and his political prestige was shattered. But I don't caste any aspersion on the Honb'le Member for the Jews. I do not say that this is a vote-catching machine, so far as this Bill is concerned. (*Laughter.*) What I say is this. It is all good for idealists and also politicians who want to catch votes to come forward with proposals and plans which are all grand on paper but which, when they are put into the crucible of practicability, cannot bear examination.

And even supposing that the Bill is sound in principle, and the House should refer it to a Select Committee I am sure the Select Committee will find, after examination of the facts and figures, that it would involve an enormous expenditure of many lakhs of rupees. I have not worked out the figures myself, because it will be impossible to work out accurate figures without seeing the reports from the Panchayats, Municipalities and other records. But I find that it will come to 15 lakhs and more. And it is a thing which the State at present could not even think of—the expenditure of that amount in the shape of alleviating

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misery. I do not deny that there is at present an economic acuteness felt, not only in the Cochin State, not only in India, but all over the world. It is the result of the great European war, and we find there is a lowering in prices of articles, and we also find there is an effort on the part of the people of the whole world to bring back the economic conditions of pre-war days. And we in Cochin too still feel, to a certain extent, the economic effects of the great European war, and there is this acuteness. The only means to get rid of this acuteness is to encourage cottage industries, to bring home to the door of every peasant the principles of co-operation, to improve agriculture, and in that way much of the miseries connected with the urban population and the rural population can be minimised. And we can live to see contended the peasantry and self-respecting citizens, not to make citizens beggars depending upon the pittance of doles but by making them active, inculcating in them habits of industry, thrift, habits which would promote the people's contentment and promote the well-being of the State as a result of which we would have good and happy citizens in the State. Now, if the Bill is passed through the House, we would have, on the other hand, Cochinites who would breed a clamouring proletariat. And there would be a competition for declaring themselves to be beggars and not respectable citizens. And I don't go to the extent of saying that it would encourage immorality among burdened widows, as the chief deterrent factor now is the difficulty of bringing up those children. When the State comes forward to feed those children, the chief fear of these people may vanish, and to that extent it may also vitiate the character of certain burdened widows.

Taking everything, therefore, into consideration, we find that the Bill, in the first place, is wrong in principle, and secondly, it is a very impracticable scheme, and the Hon'ble Member representing the Jewish Constituency, though he deserves every credit for his humanity and his humanitarian Bill, I am afraid, must be told that his Bill is wrong in principle itself and impracticable in working, and therefore, I beg to oppose the Bill.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Sir, I beg to move that the question be now put.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Sir, I second it.

The motion that further discussion on the Bill be closed was put to the votes and carried.

President.—Mr. Salem may exercise the right of reply.

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Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—I don't know whether he has a right of reply. All of us have a right of speech, but that is taken away by the closure motion under Standing Order 25 clause (2).

President.—Under Standing Order 25 clause (2), when the closure motion has been carried, the question of the original motion, the debate on which has thus been terminated, shall be put and decided without amendment or further debate, provided that the President may allow any member any right of reply which he may have under the Standing Orders.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—So, *the President has a right to allow.* No *member* has the right.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—A point of order, Sir. The President has already called upon the member to speak.

President.—We want to know whether he has got a right or whether it is in my discretion to allow him to reply. You contend that you have a right of reply, Mr. Salem? If you don't contend, I need not go into the question. What I want to see is whether the mover, after the closure motion is put and carried, has got the right of reply.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I think he has. Because even the proviso in the Standing Order, quoted by my learned friend "Only if the member has the right of reply" certainly shows that the member has the right.

President.—Ordinarily, the mover has got the right of reply. You contend that this is an inherent right. When this closure motion is proposed and carried, a new situation arises, namely, this right of reply is gone, and it can be exercised only with the permission of the President. That discretion I want you to bear in mind. So that, what I want to know is, whether you have got the right independently of my permission, i. e., without any reference to my permission. I think Standing Order 25 must decide the matter. I don't think you can find reference in any other place, because this is the case where the closure motion has been put, and so this section alone can govern the case.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Under S. O. 23 (2),

"A member who has moved a motion may speak again by way of reply, and if the motion is made by a non-official

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member, the official member in charge of the department to which the matter relates shall, after the mover has replied, have the right of speaking whether he has previously spoken in the debate or not".

President.—Of course, that is where the closure motion has not been put and carried.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—"Provided that nothing in this sub-rule shall be deemed to give a right of reply to the mover of any amendment to a Bill save with the permission of the President".

President.—Of course, you are not the mover of the amendment. Ordinarily, you will have the right.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—And it is said here, that a member who is the mover may speak again by way of reply.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—It seems to me that this proviso means that the President is not disentitled from allowing a member the right of reply. That is to say, this rule does not preclude the President from allowing a member the exercise of the right of reply. If the member wants to reply, nothing in this rule prevents the President from allowing him to do so. "The President may allow", but the option lies with the moverto ask for it.

President.—So it is not a matter within the discretion of the President?

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—It is not within the discretion of the President. This only means that, on account of this, the President's power is not taken away.

President.—This is as if it were a caution. So his right of reply is not lost.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Otherwise, "The President may allow any member the right of reply" would be meaningless. My contention is that the option lies with the mover and not with the President.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—I cannot agree. There is no such meaning in the wording "That the President may allow". It should be "The President *shall* allow". "May allow" means it is in the discretion of the President. After the closure motion is carried, if the mover wants to reply, he has no right of reply under the Standing Orders. The proviso says that this is a case where he has got a right of reply. The condition which empowers the President to

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allow is, when he has a right of reply ordinarily. When the closure motion is put, the essential condition necessary even for the President to exercise the power is that the mover must have a right of reply under the Standing Orders.

President.—The only question is whether this is a word of caution to the President or is a matter resting on the discretion of the President. Of course, when the closure motion is put and carried, that means the discussion is brought to a close. From that it would appear that there should not be any further debate. It will take away the right of the mover to reply. But then they say, the President has not the right of allowing him to reply.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—His right is taken away by the closure motion being carried. He may reply, subject to the President's permission.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—The word "may" may sometimes mean "shall" in law. The President being an august person it may mean "shall".

Mr. A. B. Salem —May I point out that under S. O. 23 (2) he has a right? It is said that " except in the exercise of a right of reply or as otherwise provided by the Rules or Standing Orders ". Will the Hon'ble Member enlighten me as to when a member has got the right of exercising the right of reply? According to him, under no circumstances he has got the right of reply.

President.—Wherever the Rules or Standing Orders have conferred upon him the right of reply, he can exercise that right.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—But here is a case where that right has been taken away. The question is whether that right can be taken away. Under S. O. 23 (2) that right is reserved.

President.—That is the question we are considering now. Under the Standing Orders you have got a right to reply, but whether that right of reply is lost by the closure motion, and whether a discretion is vested in the President to allow that right to be exercised are the questions.

Mr. A. B Salem.—Exactly, Sir.

President.—Now, after the closure motion comes the other motion. There you find you have absolutely no right of reply at all. If you bring a motion that we pass on to the business next in order, then no member, not even the mover, has got the

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right of reply. But if it is a closure motion, the debate shall be closed, and that means we are bound to close the debate, when the mover has got the right of reply.

Mr. A.B.Salem.—No debate is closed without the mover being allowed the right of reply. My explanation has to be heard.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—I wish to point one more fact. The member has moved " that the Bili be read in Council ". There may be many points which he may like to explain before votes are taken so that it would be prejudicial to take votes without affording him an opportunity for explaining. The closure motion simply stops discussion.

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—Clause 2 says that only the debate has been terminated.

Mr. Chakko Cheruvathur.—Moreover, the provso is applicable to clause (1) also, so that the closure motion is subject to the proviso.

President.—That is, in S. O. 25 (1)?

Mr. Chakko Cheruvathur.—It is subject to the proviso.

President.—Mr. Salem may exercise the right of reply.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I have heard members for and against this motion. The historical sense should be judged by the angle of vision with which we look at things and not, as has been said here, by sentiment or passion. There is no sentiment or passion actuating me, and I may boldly say that, as I said in the opening speech of the debate, that the law will benefit neither my family nor my constituency in the least. We, Jews, are not begging in the streets of the Cochin State, and only a very few—indeed, a negligible quantity amidst the Jews—will be entitled to these pensions, and the reason is, not only because of the Biblical injunctions to the individual, but because our polity and State had been based on the soundest principles possible. Amidst the Jews, nationalisation of land was the basic and foremost idea of their political Economy. There was no land in the hands of the most powerful Jenmi people which he could hold amidst for over fifty years. All the lands in the State were brought into the hotch-potch and divided equally among the members of the society at every jubilee year. According to the number in each family, the property was divided. Therefore, there is no institution in the world more sound than that, and the world is gradually nationalising land; and the idea is spreading in England,

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America, on the Continent and all over the world. Now, people have begun to desire for nationalisation of railways, property, land, etc. Now, I ask by way of reply to the Hon'ble Member—the Secretary of the Council—is it the irony of fate that has brought me to expound this law? Certainly, it is not so. It is only to compel you to do your duty towards your brethren. Throughout, from the opposition I have been hearing that they were accepting the Bill on principle. If you accept the Bill on principle, why not examine the facts? But you say, "Here is a good thing; but I will not look into it; I will not open the cover; I will not see the magnitude; I will not see the burden; I will not see the number of pensioners, and I will not see what amount would be required to be given as pensions," and in the same breath you pose yourselves to be good people, and say you are at one with the principle of the Bill, but you are not in favour of it. But you must understand it is the duty of the State to be charitable to the poor. It is not to be supposed that, when a member brings a Bill to be examined by the representatives of the country, he should bring all facts and figures and all the *pros and cons* along with the Bill. There are to be dealt with in the different stages of a Bill as given in the rule, when one conceives a Bill, he brings in a Bill, and he submits the same in the Council for approval. You should not pass a Bill into law, unless it is referred to a Select Committee. There are things that are to be discussed, when introducing a Bill. The only thing that is to be discussed at this stage is the principles and the general provisions of the Bill. When introducing a Bill, the member in charge of the Bill shall move that the Bill be read in Council and nothing more. If the motion is seconded, the Bill could be discussed, with its principles and general provisions so that these general provisions will become detailed provisions afterwards. Throughout the discussion, I have been hearing that the Bill has not been opposed on principles.

Mr. S. F. Nunez.—I oppose it on principle.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—The Anglo-Indian Member has been pleased to remark that he opposed it on principle. I have also heard it said again that the members of the opposition are not going to examine the financial aspect of the Bill, because it is only one affecting a very limited few in the State. If a Select Committee is appointed, and the Diwan Peishkar is also made a member of that Committee, he can ask the Village Officers to send in statistics of the persons who come under the provisions of the Bill in each

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village, and these can be collected in the Taluk centres and forwarded to the Select Committee with the hearty co-operation of the Tahsildar. Thus we can get all the statistics that is required under the provisions of the Bill. Then we will be in a position to know what the actual financial burden would be. It is impossible to collect statistics without the co-operation of the officials among us, and I request that the information may be collected and placed before this House. I sent the Bill to the Government, and I asked the Government to collect statistics. I asked the Government, therefore, to incur the expenditure in the matter of collecting statistics. I know Panchayats have been asked to furnish this information.

One Hon'ble Member remarked that the question of domicile is a great bugbear to the people. I touched upon that point in introducing the Bill at the very outset. It admits of the simplest solution. Only persons who have either been born or domiciled by being residents for seven years prior to the application of pension are eligible for this pension. Unless a man has been a resident for seven years in the Cochin State, he is not entitled for a pension from the State.

As regards the difficulties of idleness, prostitution, etc., coming into our land, I may say that there is very little chance of the same being introduced in our State. The argument that because relief is given to the poor and the honest people that such things are likely to occur is baseless. Is it an argument that prostitution and idleness will be fostered? Certainly, the widows of our State will not be made to prostitute themselves to make more children, since they are daily experiencing the difficulties of maintaining their already existing children. If the womanhood of Cochin is of such a nature as to go so far as prostitution, then I must deliberately say that it is a bad womanhood. I certainly will not attribute such a bad reputation to the women of Cochin.

Then, Sir, why have I brought this Bill? There have been questions of Poor Houses, questions of Widows' Homes and other similar questions pertaining to the poor and the needy, for a number of years. Long before the present Government came into existence, under the two previous regimes there was the idea of establishing a Poor House at Ernakulam. During the time of Mr. Bhore, a meeting was held in the *Maidan* here, for the purpose of collecting money for the construction of a Poor Home. Has it materialised? No. Then again there is the Widows' Home springing up at Kunnamkulam. Has it materialised there?

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—We do not get sufficient encouragement from the Government.

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Mr. A. B. Salem.—It is presumed that we are all charitably disposed and always open-handed. Where is that open-handedness which we have been witnessing for the last fifty years. I would urge that it would be detrimental to the interests of mankind, especially to the poor and the widows, if we do not pass a law in our State which looks after the poor. Otherwise, the poor will not be looked after. *Annadanam* (food giving) is said to be the best of all virtues. What have I asked for? I request that a woman with a child under the age of two be given at least Rs. 5 a month. It is only in reality that *Annadanam* of ancient days which asks you to open your hand to the widow and the fatherless in a modern way to tackle the problem. I took particular care not to import into the discussion ideas of charity that prevail in England, Australia, Germany and New Guinea. I am not a copyist by nature, and I will not be a copyist. It is not because England's idea of pension is quite different that I did not make any mention of the same in my speech. I know their pensions are based upon principle. I may bring to your notice that 1,50,000 pensions were distributed the other day in London under Lloyd George's Old Age Pension Act; 1,50,000 widow's pensions were paid in January this year. And, Sir, for whom is the pittance I am asking? It is for the helpless; it is for the old; it is for the young, and it is for all alike. In Australia the pension for a man of 65 years is £. 1 a week, and a child born gets a pension of £. 5 a week, and a workman incapacitated gets a pension for life, and an invalidate gets £. 1-2-0. Now, these are for work turned out, besides the workmen's compensation. There the legislatures in the country exist for the purpose of doing good to their own people. Are we also legislatures existing here for governing purposes or for the maintenance of law and order only, or are we legislators looking after the interests of the people? If you say that there is no necessity for a pension to our aged and the poor, through State aid now, then choose your own time, and do as your wishes dictate, and let it not be said that you pose yourselves as persons who accept the principle of the Bill but who will not examine the provisions of the Bill or the burden of the Bill.

This thing has also been said. If a man has not been able to earn something for his old age, let him suffer. Yet, Sir, is it proper that a man should suffer hunger at the age of 60 for the consequences of his past sins? It will not be a word of charity to say that to him when he has come to the bitter end of his life. I would, therefore, appeal to every member in this

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House to examine the Bill, examine the provisions as well as the burden, and vote in favour of the Bill. Examine the Bill, whether the Government oppose it or not, they will shoulder their own responsibility for opposing the Bill. Of course, Government will go in for public opinion, but if they oppose, I am prepared to take the reverse from them. If the members of this House oppose it on principle, I applaud them, and if they oppose it, because they would not examine the burden of the Bill, let them choose their own course.

The motion was put to votes and lost.

Mr. Salem demanded a poll. The motion was lost, 5 voting for and 23 against. The neutrals numbered 10.

The division list is as shown below :—

For

1. Mr. K. T. Mathew
2. ,, C. A. Ouseph
3. ,, M. K. Raman
4. ,, A. B. Salem
5. ,, K. Sankaran Nambudiri

Against

1. Mr. K. Achyuta Menon
2. ,, V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
3. ,, O. R. Chummar
4. ,, P. Damodara Menon
5. ,, A. G. Menon
6. ,, K. Govinda Menon
7. ,, E. Ikkanda Wariar
8. Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar
9. Mr. V. K. Kochunni Menon
10. ,, S. S. Koder
11. ,, T. K. Krishna Menon
12. ,, K. Krishna Pisharodi
13. ,, P. Kunju Muhammad
14. Srimati T. Madhavi Amma
15. Mr. C. Matthai
16. ,, S. F. Nunez
17. ,, N. Padmanabha Menon
18. ,, I. Rama Menon
19. ,, A. R. Menon
20. ,, A. Sankara Puduval
21. ,, Sheik Abdul Kadir Sahib Bahadur
22. Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Varghese
23. Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar

Neutrals

1. Mr. I. E. Ambookan
2. ,, Chakko Cheruvathur
3. ,, George Chakyamuri
4. ,, C. N. Ittiravi Nambudiri
5. ,, K. P. Karuppan
6. Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja
7. ,, A Kuria Thoma
8. ,, R. S. Rama Ayyar
9. ,, T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar
10. ,, P. Munda Vaidyan

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